Pakistan ISI and/or drug connections

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December 26, 1979: Soviet forces invade Afghanistan. They will withdraw in 1989 after a brutal 10-year war. It has been commonly believed that the invasion was unprovoked. But in a 1998 interview, Zbigniew Brzezinski, President Carter's National Security Adviser, reveals that the CIA began destabilizing the pro-Soviet Afghan government six months earlier, in a deliberate attempt to get the Soviets to invade and have their own Vietnam-type costly war: "What was more important in the world view of history? The Taliban or the fall of the Soviet Empire? A few stirred-up Muslims or the liberation of Central Europe and the end of the Cold War?" [*Le Nouvel Observateur*, 1/98, Mirror, 1/29/02] The US and Saudi Arabia give a huge amount of money (estimates range up to $40 billion total for the war) to support the mujaheddin guerrilla fighters opposing the Russians. Most of the money is managed by the ISI, Pakistan's intelligence agency. [Nation, 2/15/99]

Early 1980: Osama bin Laden begins providing financial, organizational, and engineering aid for the mujaheddin in Afghanistan, with the advice and support of the Saudi royal family. [New Yorker, 11/5/01] Some believe he was hand-picked for the job by Prince Turki al-Faisal, head of Saudi Arabia's secret service. [Sunday Times, 8/25/02] Bin Laden has been considered a Turki protégé by some biographers. [New Yorker, 11/5/01] The Pakistani ISI wanted a Saudi prince as a public demonstration of the commitment of the Saudi royal family and as a way to ensure royal funds for the anti-Soviet forces. The agency failed to get royalty, but bin Laden, with his family's influential ties, was good enough for the ISI. [Miami Herald, 9/24/01]

1982-1991: Afghan opium production skyrockets from 250 tons in 1982 to 2,000 tons in 1991, coinciding with CIA support and funding of the mujaheddin. Alfred McCoy, a professor of Southeast Asian history at the University of Wisconsin, says US and Pakistani intelligence officials sanctioned the rebels' drug trafficking because of their fierce opposition to the Soviets: "If their local allies were involved in narcotics trafficking, it didn't trouble CIA. They were willing to keep working with people who were heavily involved in narcotics." For instance, Gulbuddin Hekmatyar, a rebel leader who received $1 billion in covert CIA funds, was known to be a major heroin trafficker. The director of the CIA in Afghanistan claims later to be oblivious about the drug trade: "We found out about it later on." [Star Tribune, 9/30/01]

1984: Bin Laden moves to Peshawar, a Pakistani town bordering Afghanistan, and is running a front organization for the mujaheddin known as Maktab al-Khidamar (MAK), funneling money, arms and fighters from the outside world into the Afghan war. [New Yorker, 1/24/00] "MAK was nurtured by Pakistan's state security services, the Inter-Services Intelligence agency, or ISI, the CIA's primary conduit for conducting the covert war against Moscow's occupation." [MSNBC, 8/24/98] He becomes closely tied to the warlord Gulbuddin Hekmatyar, and greatly strengthens Hekmatyar's opium smuggling operations. [Le Monde, 9/14/01] Hekmatyar had ties with bin Laden, the CIA and drug running, and has also been called "an ISI stooge and creation" by the Wall Street Journal. [Asia Times, 11/15/01]

Mid-1980's (B): The ISI starts a special cell of agents who use profits from heroin production for covert actions "at the insistence of the CIA." "This cell promotes the cultivation of opium and the extraction of heroin in Pakistani territory as well as in the Afghan territory under mujaheddin control for being smuggled into the Soviet controlled areas, in order to turn the Soviet troops heroin addicts. After the withdrawal of the Soviet troops, the ISI's heroin cell started using its network of refineries and smugglers for smuggling heroin to the Western countries and using the money as a supplement to its legitimate economy. But for these heroin dollars, Pakistan's legitimate economy must have collapsed many years ago." [Financial Times, Asian edition, 8/10/01] The ISI grows so powerful on this money, that Time magazine later states, "Even by the shadowy standards of spy agencies, the ISI is notorious. It is commonly branded 'a state within the state,' or Pakistan's 'invisible government.'" [Time, 5/6/02]

March 1985: The US decides to escalate the war in Afghanistan. The CIA, British MI6 and the ISI agree to launch guerrilla attacks from Afghanistan into then Soviet-controlled Tajikistan and Uzbekistan, attacking military installations, factories and storage depots within Soviet territory until the end of the war. The CIA also begins supporting the ISI in recruiting radical Muslims from around the world to come to Pakistan and fight with the Afghan mujaheddin. The CIA gives subversive literature and Korans to the ISI, who carry them into the Soviet Union. Eventually, around 35,000 Muslim radicals from 43 Islamic countries will fight with the Afghan mujaheddin. Tens of thousands more will study in the hundreds of new madrassas funded by the ISI and CIA in Pakistan. [Washington Post, 7/19/92, Pittsburgh Post-Gazette, 9/23/01, Honolulu Star-Bulletin, 9/23/01, The Hindu, 9/27/01, *Taliban: Militant Islam, Oil and Fundamentalism in Central Asia*, Ahmed Rashid, 3/01] In the late 1980's, Pakistan's President Benazir Bhutto, feeling the mujaheddin network has grown too strong, tells President George Bush Sr., "You are creating a Frankenstein." But the warning goes unheeded. [Newsweek, 10/1/01]

1986: The CIA, ISI and bin Laden work together to build the Khost tunnel complex in Afghanistan. This will be a major target of bombing and fighting in the US defeat of the Taliban in 2001. [Pittsburgh Post-Gazette, 9/23/01, Honolulu Star-Bulletin, 9/23/01, The Hindu, 9/27/01, *Taliban: Militant Islam, Oil and Fundamentalism in Central Asia* by Ahmed Rashid] A CIA spokesman will later claim, "For the record, you should know that the CIA never employed, paid, or maintained any relationship whatsoever with bin Laden." [Ananova, 10/31/01]

1988: Bin Laden forms al-Qaeda this year (some reports claim 1989). [Forbes, 10/18/01]

February 15, 1989: Soviet forces withdraw from Afghanistan. Afghan Communists retain control of Kabul, the capital, until April 1992. [Washington Post, 7/19/92]

March 1991: *Did bin Laden ever truly break with the US and the CIA? The strongest motive that he did comes from this time, which is also roughly when al-Qaeda first starts targeting US interests.* Although the Gulf War against Iraq just ended, the US does not withdraw all of its soldiers from Saudi Arabia, but stations some 15,000-20,000 there permanently. Their presence isn't admitted until 1995, and there has never been an official

explanation as to why they are there. The Nation postulates that they are there to prevent a coup. Saudi Arabia has an incredible array of high-tech weaponry, but may lack the expertise to use it and local soldiers may have conflicting loyalties. In 1998, bin Laden will release a statement: "For more than seven years the United States has been occupying the lands of Islam in the holiest of places, the Arabian peninsula, plundering its riches, dictating to its rulers, humiliating its people, terrorizing its neighbors, and turning its bases in the peninsula into a spearhead through which to fight the neighboring Muslim peoples." [Nation, 2/15/99] *Might he have a point?*

July 5, 1991: The Bank of England shuts down the Bank of Credit and Commerce International (BCCI), the largest Muslim bank in the world. This bank based in Pakistan financed numerous Muslim terrorist organizations and laundered money generated by illicit drug trafficking and other illegal activities, including arms trafficking. Bin Laden and many other terrorists had accounts there. American and British governments knew about all this yet kept the bank open for years. The ISI had major connections to the bank. But, as later State Department reports indicate, Pakistan remains a major drug trafficking and money laundering center despite the bank's closing. [Detroit News, 9/30/01] The Washington Post claims, "The CIA used BCCI to funnel millions of dollars to the fighters battling the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan." A French intelligence report in 2001 will state, "The financial network of bin Laden, as well as his network of investments, is similar to the network put in place in the 1980s by BCCI for its fraudulent operations, often with the same people (former directors and cadres of the bank and its affiliates, arms merchants oil merchants, Saudi investors)." A senior US investigator will say US agencies were looking into these ties because "they just make so much sense, and so few people from BCCI ever went to jail." [Washington Post, 2/17/02] *Is the ISI still connected to this ex-BCCI network? Is the CIA?*

September 1994: Starting as Afghani exiles in Pakistan religious schools, the Taliban begin their conquest of Afghanistan. [MSNBC, 10/2/01] "The Taliban are widely alleged to be the creation of Pakistan's military intelligence [the ISI]. Experts say that explains the Taliban's swift military successes." [CNN, 10/5/96] Less often reported is that the CIA worked with the ISI to create the Taliban. A long-time regional expert with extensive CIA ties says: "I warned them that we were creating a monster." He adds that even years later, "The Taliban are not just recruits from 'madrassas' (Muslim theological schools) but are on the payroll of the ISI." [Times of India,

3/7/01] The same claim is made on CNN in February 2002. [CNN, 2/27/02] The Wall Street Journal will state in November 2001: "Despite their clean chins and pressed uniforms, the ISI men are as deeply fundamentalist as any bearded fanatic; the ISI created the Taliban as their own instrument and still supports it." [Asia Times, 11/15/01]

Late 1996: After moving the base of his operations to Afghanistan, bin Laden quickly establishes and maintains a major role in the opium drug trade. The money from opium is vital to keep the Taliban in power and fund bin Laden's terrorist network. Yoseff Bodansky, director of the congressional Task Force on Terrorism and Unconventional Warfare and author of a 1999 biography on bin Laden, says bin Laden takes a 15 percent cut of the drug trade money in exchange for protecting smugglers and laundering their profits. [Star Tribune, 9/30/01] A different estimate has bin Laden taking a cut of up to 10 percent of Afghanistan's drug trade by early 1999. This would give him a yearly income of up to $1 billion out of $6.5 to $10 billion in drug profits seen within Afghanistan each year. [Financial Times, 11/28/01]

July 1998: According to documents exposed in a later lawsuit, a meeting takes place in Kandahar, Afghanistan, that leads to a secret deal between Saudi Arabia and the Taliban. Those present include Prince Turki al-Faisal, head of Saudi Arabian intelligence, Taliban leaders, senior officers from the ISI and bin Laden. Saudi Arabia agrees to give the Taliban and Pakistan "several hundred millions" of dollars, and in return bin Laden promises no attacks against Saudi Arabia. The Saudis also agree to ensure that requests for the extradition of al-Qaeda members and demands to close Afghan training camps by third countries are not carried out. Saudi Arabia had previously given money to the Taliban and bribe money to bin Laden, but this ups the ante. [Sunday Times, 8/25/02] Note that reports of this meeting seemingly contradict reports of a meeting the month before between Turki and the Taliban, in which the Taliban agreed to get rid of bin Laden (see **June 1998**).

August 7, 1998: Terrorists bomb the US embassies in Kenya and Tanzania. The bomb in Nairobi, Kenya kills 213 people, including 12 US nationals, and injures more than 4,500. The bomb in Dar es Salaam kills 11 and injures 85. The attack is blamed on al-Qaeda. [PBS Frontline, 2001]

August 20, 1998: The US fires approximately 60 missiles at six training camps in Afghanistan and about 20 missiles at a pharmaceutical factory in Khartoum, Sudan in retaliation for the US embassy bombings. The US makes clear the attacks are aimed at terrorists "not supported by any state" despite obvious evidence to the contrary in Afghanistan. About 30 people are killed in the attacks, but no important al-Qaeda figures. Evidence soon emerges strongly suggesting that the Sudanese factory had no terrorist connections. The US later unfreezes the bank accounts of the factory owner and takes other actions indicating guilt, but admits no wrongdoing. It is later learned that of the six camps targeted in Afghanistan, only four were hit, and of those only one had connections to bin Laden. Two of the camps belong to the ISI, and five ISI officers and some twenty trainees are killed. Clinton says on TV that the missiles were aimed at a "gathering of key terrorist leaders", which turns out to have taken place a month earlier, in Pakistan. [Observer, 8/23/98, New Yorker, 1/24/00] A US defense analyst later states, "I think that raid really helped elevate bin Laden's reputation in a big way, building him up in the Muslim world... My sense is that because the attack was so limited and incompetent, we turned this guy into a folk hero." [Washington Post, 10/3/01] *Was intelligence really that bad, or was Clinton set up by his own intelligence agencies to fail, so he wouldn't try to attack bin Laden in the future, and thus deprive them of a war on terrorism?*

July 1999: Hijacker Marwan Alshehhi receives about $100,000 from an account in the United Arab Emirates over the course of the next year and a half. It's not clear who sends this money. Saeed Sheikh, the main source of money later sent to the hijackers (see **June or Before, 2000**), is still in prison until the end of 1999 (see **December 24-31, 1999**). [Newsweek, 12/2/01]

July 14, 1999: US government informant Randy Glass records a conversation between some illegal arms dealers and ISI agents, held at a restaurant within view of the WTC. R. G. Abbas, one of the ISI agents, points to the WTC and says, "Those towers are coming down." Abbas later makes other references to an attack on the WTC. Glass passes these warnings on, but he claims "The complaints were ordered sanitized by the highest levels of government." [WPBF Channel 25, 8/5/02, New York Observer, 10/1/01, Palm Beach Post, 10/17/02] He is able to warn Senator Bob Graham (D), who admits being told about the warning before 9/11, but nothing is done (see **Early August 2001**). The head of the ISI not only knew

about the 9/11 attacks, but gave money to the 9/11 hijackers (see **June or Before, 2000** and **October 8, 2001**).

October 1999 (B): The CIA readies an operation to capture or kill bin Laden, secretly training and equipping approximately 60 commandos from the ISI. Pakistan supposedly agrees to this plan in return for the lifting of economic sanctions and more economic aid. The plan is ready to go by October, but it is aborted because on October 12, General Musharraf takes control of Pakistan in a coup (see **October 12, 1999**). Musharraf refuses to continue the operation despite the promise of substantial rewards. [Washington Post, 10/3/01]

October 12, 1999: General Musharraf becomes leader of Pakistan in a coup. Shortly thereafter he replaces the leader of the ISI, Brig Imtiaz, because of his close ties to the previous leader. Imtiaz is arrested and convicted of "having assets disproportionate to his known sources of income." It comes out that he was keeping tens of millions of dollars earned from heroin smuggling in a Deutschebank account. This is interesting because insider trading just prior to 9/11 will later connect to a branch of Deutschebank recently run by "Buzzy" Krongard, now Executive Director of the CIA (see **September 6-10, 2001**). [Financial Times (Asian edition), 8/10/01]

November 29, 1999: The United Nations Drug Control Programme has determined the ISI makes around $2.5 billion annually from the sale of illegal drugs. [Times of India, 11/29/99]

December 24-31, 1999: An Indian Airlines flight is hijacked and flown to Afghanistan; 155 passengers are held hostage for eight days until finally freed in return for the release of three militants held in Indian prisons. One of these is Saeed Sheikh, who will loom large in the 9/11 story. [BBC, 12/31/99] Saeed then travels to Pakistan, and lives openly and opulently there. "US sources say he did little to hide his connections to terrorist organizations, and even attended swanky parties attended by senior Pakistani government officials." This behavior has led US authorities to believe he is a "protected asset" of the ISI. [Newsweek, 3/13/02]

2000: The US gives $113 million in humanitarian aid to the Taliban. [State Department Fact Sheet, 12/11/01]

March 25, 2000: President Clinton visits Pakistan. It is later revealed that the US secret service believed that the ISI was so deeply infiltrated by

terrorist organizations, that it begged Clinton to cancel his visit. Specifically, the US government determined that the ISI had long standing ties with al-Qaeda. When Clinton went ahead anyway, his security took extraordinary and unprecedented precautions. For instance, an empty Air Force One was flown into the country, and the president made the trip in a small unmarked plane. [New York Times, 10/29/01]

April 4, 2000: ISI Director and "leading Taliban supporter" General Ahmad visits Washington. In a message meant for both Pakistan and the Taliban, US officials tell him that al-Qaeda has killed Americans, and "people who support those people will be treated as our enemies." However, no actual action, military or otherwise, is taken against either the Taliban or Pakistan. [Washington Post, 12/19/01]

June or Before, 2000: Pakistani ISI Director General Ahmad orders an aide to wire transfer about $100,000 to hijacker Atta. Ahmad later resigns after the transfer is disclosed in India and confirmed by the FBI. [Dawn, 10/8/01, Times of India, 10/9/01, Wall Street Journal, 10/10/01, AFP, 10/10/01] FTW The individual who makes the wire transfer at Ahmad's direction is Saeed Sheikh, later convinced for kidnapping and murdering reporter Daniel Pearl in February 2002. ABC News later reports, "federal authorities have told ABC News they've now tracked more than $100,000 from banks in Pakistan to two banks in Florida to accounts held by suspected hijack ringleader Mohamed Atta." [ABC News, 9/30/01] CNN also reports the $100,000 transfer, and the New York Times specifies that it came in 2000. [CNN, 10/1/01, CNN, 10/6/01, New York Times, 7/10/02] Ahmad's order must have preceded June 2000, since that's when Atta and others started opening bank accounts and receiving the money ($109,910 is received by Atta and Marwan Alshehhi between June 19 and September 18). [MSNBC, 12/11/01]

June 29, 2000-September 10, 2001: The Financial Times later reports, "US investigators believe about half the $500,000 that the hijackers spent on the September 11 plot was sent by Mustafa Ahmad, who is today regarded by investigators as bin Laden's finance chief, via Dubai money exchanges through Citibank in New York and on to Florida." [Financial Times, 11/29/01] Mustafa Ahmad is another name for Saeed Sheikh, known ISI agent and supposed killer of reporter Daniel Pearl. It appears that most of the money would be sent to Atta, and then "Atta allegedly would obtain money orders -- a few thousand dollars at a time -- to distribute to others involved in the plot in the months before the hijackings." [CNN, 10/1/01, MSNBC,

12/11/01] The New York Times later suggests that the amount passed from Saeed to the Florida bank accounts right until the day before the attack was closer to $325,000. The rest of the $500,000 to $600,000 they received came from another, still unknown source. [New York Times, 7/10/02] *Given the connections between ISI Director General Ahmad and Saeed, Saeed's other links to the ISI and al-Qaeda, and money given through Ahmad and Saeed to the 9/11 hijackers, doesn't the ISI appear complicit in the 9/11 attacks? And given that the CIA is the known backer and funder of the ISI, doesn't it appear the CIA funded much of the 9/11 attack, intentionally or not? (Much more evidence connecting all of these elements together emerge in below entries)*

July 2000: In response to Western pressure, the Taliban ban poppy growing in Afghanistan. As a result, the opium yield drops dramatically in 2001, from 3,656 tons to 185 tons. Of that, 83 percent is from Northern Alliance controlled lands. However the effect isn't that great because there is a surplus in the West, and it is believed the Taliban have a large stockpile as well. [Guardian, 2/21/02, Reuters, 3/3/02, Observer, 11/25/01]

January 21, 2001: George Bush Jr. is inaugurated as the 43rd US President, replacing Clinton. The only major figure to permanently remain in office is CIA Director Tenet, appointed in 1997 and reputedly a long time friend of Bush Sr. FBI Director Louis Freeh stays on until June 2001. Numerous figures in Bush's administration are directly connected to the oil industry. Over 50 of Bush's new staff are later shown to have worked for Enron. [Salon, 11/30/01]

March 1, 2001: The Taliban begins blowing up two giant stone Buddhas of Bamiyan. They face great international condemnation in response, but no longer seem to be courting international recognition. Apparently even ISI efforts to dissuade them fail. [Time, 8/4/02, Time, 8/4/02]

March 7, 2001: The Russian Permanent Mission at the United Nations secretly submits "an unprecedentedly detailed report" to the UN Security Council about bin Laden, his whereabouts, details of his al-Qaeda network, Afghan drug running, and Taliban connections in Pakistan. The report provides "a listing of all bin Laden's bases, his government contacts and foreign advisors," and enough information to potentially kill him. The US fails to act. Alex Standish, the editor of the highly respected Jane's Intelligence Review, concludes that the attacks of 9/11 were less of an

American intelligence failure and more the result of "a political decision not to act against bin Laden." [Jane's Intelligence Review, 10/5/01]

May 2001 (D): Secretary of State Powell gives $43 million in aid to Afghanistan's Taliban government, purportedly to assist hungry farmers who are starving since the destruction of their opium crop in January on orders of the Taliban. [Los Angeles Times, 5/22/01] FTW This follows $113 million given by the US in 2000 for humanitarian aid. [State Department Fact Sheet, 12/11/01]

May 2001 (E): Deputy Secretary of State Richard Armitage, a career covert operative and former Navy Seal, travels to India on a publicized tour while CIA Director Tenet makes a quiet visit to Pakistan to meet with Pakistani President General Musharraf. Armitage has long and deep Pakistani intelligence connections (as well as a role in the Iran-Contra affair). It would be reasonable to assume that while in Islamabad, Tenet, in what was described as "an unusually long meeting," also meets with his Pakistani counterpart, General Ahmad, Director of the ISI. A long-time regional expert with extensive CIA ties stated publicly: "The CIA still has close links with the ISI." [SAPRA, 5/22/01, Times of India, 3/7/01] FTW

Late May 2001: A federal jury convicts four of bin Laden's followers in the wake of the US embassy bombings in Africa. Former al-Qaeda insider L'Houssaine Kherchtou's testimony reveals the existence of an al-Qaeda operative named Sheik Sayid and says he was one of the people controlling the group's finances. In reporting this story, CNN states, "Sheik Sayid is now reported to be the finance chairman of al-Qaeda and the man suspected of wiring money from Pakistan to Mohamed Atta" (see **June or Before, 2000**). [CNN, 10/16/01] Kherchtou was involved with al-Qaeda from 1992 to 1995, which corresponds with Saeed Sheikh's first period of involvement. [State Department, 2/22/01]

June 12, 2001: Kevin Ingram and Walter Kapij are arrested in Fort Lauderdale, Florida, on charges of money laundering. Also arrested are Diaa Mohsen and Mohammed R. Malik, who are accused of attempting to buy Stinger missiles, nuclear weapon components and other sophisticated military weaponry for the Pakistani ISI. [Sun-Sentinel, 8/23/01, Washington Post, 8/2/02] Both men lived in Jersey City, New Jersey. [Jersey Journal, 6/20/01] A number of the people held by the US after 9/11, including possible al-Qaeda members Ayub Khan and Mohammed Azmath (see

September 11, 2001) are from the same Jersey City neighborhood. [New York Post, 9/23/01] Ingram was a former senior investment banker with Deutschebank, but resigned in January 1999 after his division suffered costly losses. [Jersey Journal, 6/20/01] Ingram later pleads guilty and is sentenced to 18 months in prison for laundering $350,000 in 1999. [AP, 12/1/01] Some ISI agents came to Florida on several occasions to negotiate, but they were not caught in the sting. They wanted to partially pay in heroin. The buyers repeatedly said some of their purchases would go to the Taliban in Afghanistan and/or terrorists associated with bin Laden. [New York Times, 6/16/01, Washington Post, 8/2/02] Mohsen is convicted, but prosecutors "removed references to Pakistan from public filings because of diplomatic concerns." Malik appears to have had links to important Pakistani officials. Malik's case was dropped and the court files for his case remain sealed. Dick Stoltz, an undercover agent working on the case for the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms, criticizes the FBI's handling of the case: "Had more attention been paid to this inside the government, the case agents in the trenches would have had more information on who these Pakistani people on US soil were. It would have steered us in other directions, and possibly justified continuing the investigation. . . . We couldn't understand why this wasn't treated as a national security matter." An FBI official said the case "was handled appropriately," but acknowledged that some FBI agents believed that officials in FBI headquarters "could have been more aggressive." [Washington Post, 8/2/02] It appears at least one of the ISI agents almost caught in this sting operation had foreknowledge of 9/11 (see **July 12, 1999** and **Early August 2001**).

Summer 2001 (D): Egyptian investigators track down a close associate of bin Laden named Ahmed al-Khadir, wanted for bombing the Egyptian embassy in Islamabad in 1995. Egyptians surround the safe house in Pakistan where al-Khadir is hiding. They notify the ISI to help arrest him, and the ISI promises swift action. Instead, a car sent by the ISI filled with Taliban and having diplomatic plates arrives, grabs al-Khadir and drives him to safety in Afghanistan. Time magazine later brings up the incident to show the strong ties between the ISI and both the Taliban and al-Qaeda. [Time, 5/6/02]

July 2, 2001: Indian sources claim that "bin Laden, who suffers from renal deficiency, has been periodically undergoing dialysis in a Peshawar military hospital with the knowledge and approval of the Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI), if not of [Pakistani President] Musharraf himself." [SARPA, 7/2/01]

While one might question the bias of an Indian newspaper on this issue, highly-respected intelligence newsletter Jane's later reports the story, and adds, "None of [these details] will be unfamiliar to US intelligence operatives who have been compiling extensive reports on these alleged activities." [Jane's Intelligence Digest, 9/20/01] CBS will later report bin Laden had emergency medical care in Pakistan the day before 9/11. [CBS News, 01/28/02] If these stories are true, it appears Pakistan could have captured bin Laden for the US at any time. The Jane's article adds, "it is becoming clear that both the Taliban and al-Qaeda would have found it difficult to have continued functioning - including the latter group's terrorist activities - without substantial aid and support from Islamabad [Pakistan]." [Jane's Intelligence Digest, 9/20/01]

Early August 2001: Randy Glass, a former jewel thief turned government informant, later claims that he contacts the staff of Senator Bob Graham and Representative Robert Wexler and warns them of a plan to attack the WTC, but his warnings are ignored. Glass was a key informant in a sting operation involving ISI agents trying to illegally purchase sophisticated US military weaponry in return for cash and heroin (see **June 12, 2001**). Glass claims that before the sting operation ended in June 2001, one Pakistani operative named R. G. Abbas made three references to imminent plans to attack the WTC. In one meeting held in New York City in 1999, Abbas pointed to the WTC and said, "Those towers are coming down." Glass caught this meeting on tape (see **July 14, 1999**). In October 2002, Glass testifies under oath before a private session of the Congressional 9/11 inquiry. He states, "I told [the inquiry] I have specific evidence, and I can document it." Florida State Senator Ron Klein, who had dealings with Glass before 9/11, says he is surprised it took so many months for the US to listen to Glass: "Shame on us." [Palm Beach Post, 10/17/02] Glass also told the media in early August that the case has "far greater ramifications than have so far been revealed," and "potentially, thousands of lives [are] at risk." [South Florida Sun-Sentinel, 8/7/01] Senator Graham acknowledged that his office had contact with Glass before 9/11, and was told about a WTC attack: "I was concerned about that and a dozen other pieces of information which emanated from the summer of 2001." But Graham later says he was unaware of Glass's information until after 9/11. [Palm Beach Post, 10/17/02] *Why hasn't the US tried to extradite Abbas from Pakistan?*

Mid-August 2001 (B): According to former National Security Adviser Robert McFarlane, mujaheddin leader Abdul Haq returns to Peshawar,

Pakistan from the US. With support from the US, he launches subversive operations in Afghanistan. [Wall Street Journal, 11/2/01] He is later killed entering Afghanistan in October 2001, after his position is betrayed to the Taliban by the ISI. [Toronto Star, 11/5/01]

August 30, 2001: It is reported in Russia and Pakistan that the Taliban has named bin Laden commander of the Afghanistan army. [UPI, 8/30/01]

Late August 2001: Senator Bob Graham (D), Representative Porter Goss (R) and Senator John Kyl (R) travel to Pakistan and meet with President Musharraf. They reportedly discuss various security issues, including the possible extradition of bin Laden. They also meet with Abdul Salam Zaeef, the Taliban ambassador to Pakistan. According to a local press account at the time, "Zaeef assured the delegation that the Taliban government wanted to settle the issue [of extraditing bin Laden] through negotiations." What's interesting is that later all three are meeting with ISI Director General Ahmad, at the time of the 9/11 attacks (see **September 11, 2001 (H)**). Ahmad gave $100,000 to hijacker Atta. [Salon, 9/14/01] *Since the ISI was funding the 9/11 hijackers, what else might have been discussed in these meetings?*

Late August 2001: Turki bin Faisal, head of Saudi Arabia's intelligence service for decades, is ousted in late August by Crown Prince Abdullah. No explanation is given. He is replaced by Nawwaf bin Abdal-aziz, who has "no background in intelligence whatsoever." [Seattle Times, 10/29/01] FTW *Was this move a power struggle with an eye to the upcoming 9/11 attacks? Or was it retribution for Turki's supposed meeting with bin Laden in July? (see **July 12, 2001**)*

September 4-10, 2001: On September 10, a Pakistani newspaper reports on ISI Director General Ahmad's visit to Washington in the last week. It says his visit has "triggered speculation about the agenda of his mysterious meetings at the Pentagon and National Security Council" as well as meetings with CIA Director Tenet, unspecified officials at the White House and the Pentagon and his "most important meeting" with Mark Grossman, US Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs. The article suggests that "of course, Osama bin Laden" could be the focus of such discussions. Prophetically, the article adds, "What added interest to his visit is the history of such visits. Last time [his] predecessor was [in Washington], the domestic [Pakistani] politics turned topsy-turvy within days." [The News, 9/10/01]

September 8-11, 2001 (C): Saeed Sheikh transfers money from the United Arab Emirates to Atta in Florida on September 8 and 9 (the United Arab Emirates is known for lax banking laws and has no law against money laundering [State Department briefing, 7/8/99]). On September 9, three hijackers, Atta, Walid Alshehri and Marwan Alshehhi, transfer about $15,000 back to Saeed's account. [Time, 10/1/01, Los Angeles Times, 10/20/01] Apparently the hijackers were giving money meant for the 9/11 attacks that they didn't use. Saeed then flies from the United Arab Emirates to Karachi, Pakistan on 9/11. These last minute transfers are touted as the "smoking gun" proving al-Qaeda involvement in the 9/11 attacks, since Saeed is a known financial manager for bin Laden. [Guardian, 10/1/01] *But since Saeed (who is later convicted for the murder of reporter Daniel Pearl (see **July 15, 2002**)) also works for the ISI, aren't these transfers equally a smoking gun of ISI involvement in the 9/11 attacks?*

September 9, 2001: General Ahmed Shah Massoud, the leader of Afghanistan's Northern Alliance, is assassinated by two men posing as Moroccan journalists. A legendary mujaheddin commander and a brilliant tactician, Massoud had pledged to bring freedom and democracy to Afghanistan. The BBC says the next day, "General Massoud's death might well have meant the end of the [Northern] alliance" because there clearly was no figure with his skills and popularity to replace him. [BBC, 9/10/01, BBC, 9/10/01] It appears the assassination was supposed to happen earlier- the "journalists" waited for three weeks in Northern Alliance territory to meet Massoud. Finally on September 8, an aide says they "were so worried and excitable they were begging us." They were granted an interview after threatening to leave if the interview didn't happen in the next 24 hours. Meanwhile, the Taliban army (together with elements of the Pakistani army) had massed for an offensive against the Northern Alliance in the previous weeks, but the offensive began only hours after the assassination. Massoud was killed that day but Northern Alliance leaders pretended for several days that he was only injured in order to keep the army's morale up, and the army was able to stave off total defeat. The timing of the assassination and the actions of the Taliban army suggest that the 9/11 attacks were known to the Taliban leadership. Massoud's killers are thought to have been al-Qaeda agents. [Time, 8/4/02] However, they may have had other connections. Though it is not widely reported, the Northern Alliance release a statement the next day: "Ahmed Shah Massoud was the target of an assassination attempt organized by the Pakistani [intelligence service] ISI and Osama bin

Laden." [Radio Free Europe, 9/10/01, Newsday, 9/15/01, Reuters, 10/4/01] *More evidence that the ISI was aware of 9/11?*

September 10, 2001 (D): CBS later reports that on this day, bin Laden is admitted to a military hospital in Rawalpindi, Pakistan, for kidney dialysis treatment. Pakistani military forces guard bin Laden. They also move out all the regular staff in the urology department and send in a secret team to replace them. It is not known how long he stayed. [CBS News, 01/28/02] *Why didn't Pakistan arrest bin laden at this time?*

September 11, 2001 (G): The 9/11 attack: four planes are hijacked, two crash into the WTC, one into the Pentagon, and one crashes into the Pennsylvania countryside. At least 3,000 people are killed. A more detailed timeline focusing on the hours of this attack appears on a separate page. According to officials, the entire US is defended by only 14 fighters (two planes each in seven military bases). [Dallas Morning News, 9/16/01] And "they no longer included any bases close to two obvious terrorist targets - Washington, DC, and New York City." A defense official says: "I don't think any of us envisioned an internal air threat by big aircraft. I don't know of anybody that ever thought through that." [Newsday, 9/23/01]

September 11, 2001 (H): At the time of the attacks, ISI Director General Ahmad is at a breakfast meeting at the Capitol with the chairmen of the House and Senate Intelligence Committees, Senator Bob Graham (D) and Representative Porter Goss (R). The meeting is said to last at least until the second plane hit the WTC. Goss is a 10-year veteran of the CIA's clandestine operations wing; Graham is the CIA's best ally in the Senate. [Washington Post, 5/18/02] Both later head the joint House-Senate investigation into the 9/11 attacks, which has made headlines for saying there was no "smoking gun" of Bush knowledge before 9/11. [Washington Post, 7/11/02] Note that Senator Graham should have been aware of a report made to his staff the previous month that one of Ahmad's subordinates had told a US undercover agent that the WTC would be destroyed (see **August 2001**). Evidence suggests General Ahmad passed $100,000 to hijacker Atta (see **June or Before, 2000**). Also present at the meeting were Senator John Kyl (R) and the Pakistani ambassador to the US, Maleeha Lodhi (all or virtually all of the people in this meeting also met in Pakistan a few weeks earlier (see **Late August 2001**)). Senator Graham says of the meeting: "We were talking about terrorism, specifically terrorism generated from Afghanistan." The New York Times mentions bin Laden was specifically

being discussed. [Vero Beach Press Journal, 9/12/01, [Salon, 9/14/01, New York Times, 6/3/02] *The fact that these people are meeting at the time of the attacks is a strange coincidence at the very least. Was the topic of conversation just more coincidence?* FTW

September 12-13, 2001: ISI Director General Ahmad meets with Deputy Secretary of State Richard Armitage. An agreement on Pakistan's collaboration in the war on terrorism is negotiated between Ahmad and Armitage. He also has meetings with Senator Joseph Biden, Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and Secretary of State Powell. [Miami Herald, 9/16/01] All these meetings coordinate Pakistan's response to 9/11. [New York Times, 9/13/01, Reuters, 9/13/01, Associated Press, 9/13/01] *Isn't it strange that the terms of Pakistan's commitment to fight al-Qaeda was negotiated with a man who is later known to have ordered $100,000 wired to the 9/11 hijackers (see **June or Before, 2000**)?*

September 14, 2001 (approx.): According to Seymour Hersh of the New Yorker, a few days after 9/11 members of the elite Israeli counter-terrorism unit Sayeret Matkal arrive in the US and begin training with US special forces in a secret location. The two groups are developing contingency plans to attack Pakistan's military bases and remove its nuclear weapons if the Pakistani government or the nuclear weapons fall into the wrong hands. [New Yorker, 10/29/01] The Japan Times later notes that this "threat to divest Pakistan of its 'crown jewels' was cleverly used by the US, first to force Musharraf to support its military campaign in Afghanistan, and then to warn would-be coup plotters against Musharraf." [Japan Times, 11/10/01] Note the curious connection between Sayeret Matkal and one of the 9/11 passengers on Flight 11 (see **September 11, 2001 (X)**).

September 23, 2001 (B): European law enforcement experts claim that numerous links tie major Muslim terrorist organizations, including al-Qaeda, with international organized crime groups. For approximately the last decade, mutually benefiting strong ties have developed between the two groups. Organized crime launders an estimated $900 billion a year, some of it from terrorist groups. France's chief financial crime prosecutor: "The nerve center of war is money... Without money, terrorist networks do not exist. They can't finance their operations overseas or purchase arms." Terrorist groups are also deeply involved in the international narcotics trade. [San Francisco Chronicle, 9/23/01]

September 27, 2001 (B): The Sydney Morning Herald discusses the connections between the CIA and Pakistan's ISI, and the ISI's long-standing control over the Taliban. Drugs are a big part of their operation: "opium cultivation and heroin production in Pakistan's northern tribal belt and adjoining Afghanistan were a vital offshoot of the ISI-CIA cooperation. It succeeded in turning some of the Soviet troops into addicts. Heroin sales in Europe and the US, carried out through an elaborate web of deception, transport networks, couriers and payoffs, offset the cost of the decade-long war in Afghanistan." [Sydney Morning Herald, 9/27/01]

October 7, 2001 (B): The US begins bombing Afghanistan. [MSNBC, 11/01] At least five key ISI operatives - some retired, some active - stay on to help the Taliban prepare defenses in Kandahar. None are later punished for this. At least halfway through the US campaign in Afghanistan, Pakistani officials still supply military and nonlethal supplies across the border to the Taliban. [Time, 5/6/02] Note that shortly after 9/11 former Pakistani Foreign Secretary Niaz Naik claimed that in July 2001 he was told by senior US officials that a military action to overthrow the Taliban in Afghanistan would "take place before the snows started falling in Afghanistan, by the middle of October at the latest" (see **July 21, 2001**). *Was it coincidence that the attacks began exactly when the US said they would, months before 9/11?*

October 8, 2001: ISI Director General Ahmad is replaced after the FBI establishes links between him, Saeed Sheikh and 9/11. Ahmad instructed Saeed to transfer $100,000 into hijacker Atta's bank account prior to 9/11 (see **June or Before, 2000**). The story is widely reported by Pakistani newspapers, and even by the Wall Street Journal, which says US government sources helped them to confirm the story. The Times of India reports that Indian intelligence helped the FBI discover the link: "A direct link between the ISI and the WTC attack could have enormous repercussions. The US cannot but suspect whether or not there were other senior Pakistani Army commanders who were in the know of things. Evidence of a larger conspiracy could shake US confidence in Pakistan's ability to participate in the anti-terrorism coalition." [Dawn, 10/8/01, Times of India, 10/9/01, Wall Street Journal, 10/10/01, AFP, 10/10/01] Several other ISI leaders close to the Taliban are removed around the same time. But, according to one diplomat: "To remove the top two or three doesn't matter at all. The philosophy remains... [The ISI is] a parallel government of its own. If you go through the officer list, almost all of the ISI regulars would say, of the Taliban, 'They are my boys.'" [New Yorker, 10/29/01]

October 18, 2001 (B): The Economist reports that the Taliban are dumping their stockpile of heroin into the market, to pay for the war against the US. As a result, prices in Afghanistan have tumbled from $700 a kilo just before 9/11 to $100. This stockpile is worth about $1 billion in Pakistan, but between $40 billion and $80 billion on the streets of Europe. 70% of all the world's opium comes from Afghanistan. [Economist, 10/18/01]

November 10, 2001: Telegraph reporter Christina Lamb is arrested and expelled from Pakistan by the ISI. She had been investigating the connections between the ISI and the Taliban. Reporter Daniel Pearl's investigation into the ISI will later result in his death. [Telegraph, 11/11/01]

November 11, 2001: Saeed Sheikh is connected to Saudi charities that investigators believe secretly funnel millions of dollars to bin Laden's operatives. At this time, he is only known as Mustafa Ahmed, and incorrectly thought by some to be a Saudi. His name appeared shortly after 9/11 when Irish police raided the Dublin offices of the Islamic Relief Agency, a Saudi-backed charity previously linked to bin Laden's 1998 bombings of two American embassies in Africa. [Newsweek, 11/11/01]

Mid-November-November 25, 2001: At the request of the Pakistani government, the US secretly allows rescue flights into the besieged Taliban stronghold of Kunduz in Northern Afghanistan to save Pakistanis fighting for the Taliban and bring them back to Pakistan. [Independent, 11/26/01] Pakistan's President "Musharraf won American support for the airlift by warning that the humiliation of losing hundreds—and perhaps thousands—of Pakistani Army men and intelligence operatives would jeopardize his political survival." The flights are denied by the US and generally ignored in the US media. [New Yorker, 1/21/02] For instance, on November 16, when asked about rumors of planes escaping Kunduz, Defense Secretary Rumsfeld says, "Well, if we see them, we shoot them down." [State Department, 11/16/01] Pakistan denies that there even were any Pakistani military in Afghanistan. But New Yorker magazine reports that, "What was supposed to be a limited evacuation apparently slipped out of control and, as an unintended consequence, an unknown number of Taliban and al-Qaeda fighters managed to join in the exodus." A CIA analyst says "many of the people they spirited away were in the Taliban leadership" who Pakistan wanted for future political negotiations. US intelligence was "supposed to have access to them, but it didn't happen," he says. According to Indian intelligence, airlifts grow particularly intense in the last three days before the

city falls on November 25. Of the 8,000 remaining al-Qaeda, Pakistani and Taliban, about 5,000 are airlifted out and 3,000 surrender. [New Yorker, 1/21/02] *Letting the Pakistanis go is surprising enough. Was the rest really an accident or deliberate so the war against terrorism didn't end too soon?*

November 21, 2001: The Independent runs a story with the title: "Opium Farmers Rejoice at the Defeat of the Taliban." Massive opium planting is underway all across Afghanistan. [Independent, 11/21/01] Four days later, the Observer runs a story headlined, "Victorious Warlords Set To Open the Opium Floodgates." It states that farmers are being encouraged by warlords allied with the US to plant "as much opium as possible." [Observer, 11/25/01] FTW

December 4, 2001: Convicted drug lord and opium kingpin Ayub Afridi is released from prison and recruited by the US government to help establish control in Afghanistan by unifying various Pashtun warlords. The former opium smuggler was one of the CIA's leading assets in the Afghan war against the Russians. [Asia Times, 12/4/01] FTW

December 11, 2001 (B): A man named Mustafa Ahmed al-Hawsawi is listed as an unindicted co-conspirator in Zacarias Moussaoui's criminal indictment, but who is he? The indictment states "Mustafa Ahmed al-Hawsawi, a.k.a. 'Mustafa Ahmed,' was born in Jeddah, Saudi Arabia on August 5, 1968." [MSNBC, 12/11/01, AP, 12/12/01] But it's believed that both those names are aliases. In contrast to the precise birthdate, the Washington Post points out two days later that "Al-Hawsawi's precise identity is unclear in court papers and to investigators. Some US officials believe he may be the same man as Mustafa Muhammad Ahmad, alias Shaykh Saiid, who is a top bin Laden financial lieutenant included on the list of alleged terrorists whose assets have been frozen by the United States." [Washington Post, 12/13/01] CNN reported in October that "investigators have now determined that Saeed [Sheikh] and Mustafa Muhammad Ahmad are the same person." [CNN, 10/6/01] Did the US deliberately fail to identify Saeed because of the financial trial through him that Pakistan's ISI to the 9/11 hijackers (see **June or Before, 2000**)?

December 30, 2001: The new Afghan Interior Minister Younis Qanooni claims that the ISI helped bin Laden escape from Afghanistan: "Undoubtedly they (ISI) knew what was going on." He claims that the ISI is

still supporting bin Laden even if Pakistani president Musharraf isn't. [BBC, 12/30/01]

January 12, 2002: Pakistan President Musharraf makes "a forceful speech... condemning Islamic extremism." Around this time, he also arrests about 2000 people he calls extremists. He is hailed in the Western media as redirecting the ISI to support the US agenda. Yet, by the end of the month at least 800 of the arrested are set free [Washington Post, 3/28/02] including "most of their firebrand leaders." [Time, 5/6/02] Whether Musharraf has changed is open to question, as is the question of who's controlling who, Musharraf or the ISI. The Guardian will later write about the Daniel Pearl story, "So mysterious has this affair become that one might wonder who is really running Pakistan." [Guardian, 4/5/02]

January 23, 2002: Wall Street Journal reporter Daniel Pearl is kidnapped in Pakistan. [Guardian, 1/25/02, BBC, 7/5/02] "At the time of his abduction, Pearl was investigating links between Pakistani extremists and Richard C. Reid, the British man accused of trying to blow up an American airliner with explosives hidden in his sneakers. As part of that probe, Pearl may have strayed into areas involving Pakistan's secret intelligence organizations." [Washington Post, 2/23/02] It is alleged he was focusing on the role played by the US in training and backing the ISI and connections between the ISI and Muslim radicals. [Gulf News, 3/25/02] FTW

January 31, 2002 (approx.): Sometime on or after this date, Wall Street Journal reporter Daniel Pearl is murdered by his kidnappers in Pakistan. Pearl is reported dead on February 21; his body is found months later. Police investigators say "there were at least eight to 10 people present on the scene," and at least 15 who participated in his kidnapping and murder. "Despite issuing a series of political demands shortly after Pearl's abduction four weeks ago, it now seems clear that the kidnappers planned to kill Pearl all along." [Washington Post, 2/23/02]

February 5, 2002: Saeed Sheikh turns himself in to the ISI and confesses to the kidnapping and murder of Daniel Pearl (see **January 31, 2002 (approx.)**). However, it is denied that he is in custody until February 12. Newsweek later publishes an article regarding this time called "The Missing Week." It is suggested Saeed could have been held for this week to make sure that Pearl was killed. Saeed even says that during this week he got a coded message from the kidnappers that Pearl had been murdered.

[Newsweek, 3/11/02] Several others are arrested at the same time, and also have extensive ISI ties, as well as al-Qaeda ties. [Washington Post, 2/23/02, London Times, 2/25/02] One of these men, Khalid Khawaja, "has never hidden his links with Osama bin Laden. At one time he used to fly Osama's personal plane." [PakNews, 2/11/02]

February 7, 2002: The media begins to suspect Saeed Sheikh as the murderer of reporter Daniel Pearl. In the months to follow, some articles mention Saeed's links to al-Qaeda, [ABC News, 2/7/02] and some mention his links to the ISI [New York Times, 2/25/02], but virtually no articles consider that Saeed could have been connected to both groups at the same time. One remarkable exception to this selective amnesia is the Pittsburgh Tribune-Review on March 3, 2002, which reports that Saeed has acted as a "go-between" for bin Laden and the ISI since 9/11 and had close ties to both. For instance, "It is believed he helped produce bin Laden's latest taped interview two weeks ago." Meanwhile, Saeed's "gang" staged attacks on Kashmir and India's parliaments in November and December 2001, and shot up the American Centre in Kolkata, India in early 2002. "Many and varied sources have told Washington officials that in all these attacks, Saeed Sheikh had logistical and operational support from the ISI in Karachi and Islamabad. ISI also helped him form and operate the Jaish-e-Muhammed - Muhammed's Army - for his terrorist campaigns in Kashmir." The article goes even further: "There are many in Musharraf's government who believe that Saeed Sheikh's power comes not from the ISI, but from his connections with our own CIA. The theory is that ... Saeed Sheikh was bought and paid for." He also has long ties with numerous charities inside the US. [Pittsburgh Tribune-Review, 3/3/02]

February 12, 2002: Saeed Sheikh publicly confesses to the murder of Daniel Pearl (see **January 31, 2002 (approx.)**). Later he will recant this confession. It appears that initially he thought he would get a light sentence. Newsweek described him initially "confident, even cocky," saying he would only serve three to four years if convicted, and would never be extradited. [Newsweek, 3/11/02] He is sentenced to hang instead (see **July 15, 2002**). *Did Saeed think he had a secret deal to get a light sentence?*

February 18, 2002: The Financial Times reports that the estimated opium harvest in Afghanistan in June 2002 will reach a record 4500 metric tons. Afghanistan is supplying 95% of the heroin in Europe, but the US shows "little interest" in stopping the production. [Financial Times, 2/18/02] FTW

February 21, 2002: Police and intelligence agencies in Britain predict "a potentially huge increase in heroin trafficking because of massive and unchecked replanting of the opium crop in Afghanistan." This dovetails with a UN Office for Drug Control and Crime Prevention report, which has detected massive opium planting that had mostly stopped under the Taliban. An intelligence source describes the idea of cracking down on opium growing as "a political nightmare" that could destroy support for the Afghan government. One solution would be to buy the opium and destroy it, but that has been rejected as too costly and controversial. Afghanistan is the source of 75% of the world's heroin. [Guardian, 2/21/02]

February 25, 2002: Time reports that the second highest Taliban official in US custody, Mullah Haji Abdul Samat Khaksar, has been waiting for months for the CIA to talk to him. Even two weeks after Time informed US officials that Khaksar wanted to talk, no one has properly interviewed him. He says he has useful information, and may be able to help locate former Taliban leader Mullah Omar. Time notes that "he claims to have information about al-Qaeda links to the ISI." [Time, 2/25/02] "The little that Khaksar has divulged — to an American general and his intelligence aide - is tantalizing." "He says that the ISI agents are still mixed up with the Taliban and al-Qaeda," and that all three have formed a new group to get the US out of Afghanistan. He also says that "the ISI recently assassinated an Afghan in Paktika province who knew the full extent of ISI's collaboration with al-Qaeda." [Time, 2/19/02] *Did the US not want to hear from Khaksar because of his embarrassing information about the ISI?*

March 1, 2002: The ISI pressures an important Pakistani newspaper, The News, to fire four journalists. The editor also flees the country in response. These journalists had reported on connections between Saeed Sheikh, arrested for the murder of Daniel Pearl, and recent attacks on the Indian parliament in Delhi and Kashmir. This information comes from an article titled, "There's Much More To Daniel Pearl's Murder Than Meets the Eye," and that certainly seems to be the case. [Washington Post, 3/10/02]

March 3, 2002: On CNN, Secretary of State Powell rules out any links between "elements of the ISI" and the murderers of reporter Daniel Pearl. [Dawn, 3/3/02] The Guardian later calls Powell's comment "shocking," given the overwhelming evidence that the main suspect, Saeed Sheikh, worked for the ISI. [Guardian, 4/5/02] Saeed's legal fees were even paid for by the ISI in an earlier trial [Washington Post, 5/3/02] and Defense Secretary

Rumsfeld has called him a possible "asset" for the ISI. [London Times, 2/25/02] The Washington Post says "The [ISI] is a house of horrors waiting to break open. Saeed has tales to tell." [Washington Post, 3/28/02] One such revelation: a Pakistani investigator claims Saeed says he met with bin Laden after 9/11. [London Times, 2/25/02] The Guardian says Saeed "is widely believed in Pakistan to be an experienced ISI 'asset.'" [Washington Post, 5/3/02] When FBI agents questioned Saeed in early March about his relationship with the ISI, he responded, "I will not discuss this subject. I do not want my family to be killed." [Newsweek, 3/13/02] *Does Powell's comment indicate that the US is helping to cover Saeed's ISI connections up?*

March 7, 2002 (B): Pakistan President Musharraf says Saeed Sheikh, chief suspect in the killing of reporter Daniel Pearl, will not be extradited to the US, at least until after he is tried by Pakistan. [Guardian, 3/15/02] The US Ambassador later reports to Washington that Musharraf privately said "I'd rather hang him myself" than extradite Saeed. [Washington Post, 3/28/02] Musharraf even brazenly states, "Perhaps Daniel Pearl was over-intrusive. A mediaperson should be aware of the dangers of getting into dangerous areas. Unfortunately, he got over-involved." [Hindu, 3/8/02] He also says Pearl was caught up in "intelligence games." [Washington Post, 5/3/02] *Did Saeed know too many secrets to be extradited (see April 5, 2002)?*

April 1, 2002: "American officials have quietly abandoned their hopes to reduce Afghanistan's opium production substantially this year and are now bracing for a harvest large enough to inundate the world's heroin and opium markets with cheap drugs." They want to see the new Afghan government make at least a token effort to destroy some opium, but it appears they're not doing even that. Afghan leader Hamid Karzai had announced a total ban on opium cultivation, processing and trafficking, but it appears to be a total sham. The new harvest is so large, it could be "enough opium to stockpile for two or two and a half more years." [New York Times, 4/1/02]

April 5, 2002: NBC reports that death sentences are expected for the four accused killers of Daniel Pearl, despite lack of evidence. The case will be decided in top secret by handpicked judges in Pakistan's anti-terrorism courts. The law says the case must be wrapped up in just seven days. "Some in Pakistan's government also are very concerned about what [the defendant] Saeed might say in court. His organization and other militant groups here have ties to Pakistan's secret intelligence agency [the ISI]. There are

concerns he could try to implicate that government agency in the Pearl case, or other questionable dealings that could be at the very least embarrassing, or worse." [MSNBC, 4/5/02]

April 21, 2002: The Sunday Times reports on Saeed's connections to both the ISI and al-Qaeda in a story entitled, "Pearl Murder Case Briton Was a Double Agent." Most other newspapers continue to fail to connect the dots, and not even this story connects Saeed with funding 9/11, as reported in the media months before. [Sunday Times, 4/21/02]

June 20, 2002: The long-awaited *loya jirga*, or grand council, is concluded in Afghanistan. This council was supposed to be a traditional method for the Afghan people to select their leaders, but the council is clearly rigged (as an important think tank later concludes). [BBC, 8/1/02] Half of the delegates walk out in protest. [CNN, 6/18/02] One delegate states, "This is worse than our worst expectations. The warlords have been promoted and the professionals kicked out. Who calls this democracy?" Delegates complain, "This is interference by foreign countries", obviously meaning the US. The New York Times publishes an article ("The Warlords Win in Kabul") pointing out that the "very forces responsible for countless brutalities" in past governments are back in power. [New York Times, 6/21/02] *These are the same warlords that have controlled the drug trade for years.*

June 25, 2002 (B): Although Western media continues to report that the ISI has reformed itself, "few in Pakistan believe it." The Independent later reports rumors that on this day ISI officers hide three al-Qaeda members after a gun battle in which 10 soldiers were killed. This follows several other betrayals - now the FBI and the Pakistanis no longer tell the ISI about their raids in advance. Other Pakistani investigators are having to build terrorist files from scratch because the ISI won't share what they know. [Independent, 7/21/02]

July 6, 2002: Afghan Vice President Hajji Abdul Qadir is assassinated by Afghan warlords. Qadir may have been assassinated by opium warlords upset by Qadir's efforts to reduce the rampant opium farming and processing that has taken place since the US occupation. Qadir had been overseeing a Western-backed eradication program, and had recently complained that the money meant to be given to reward farmers for not planting opium was in fact not reaching the farmers. Additionally, Qadir "had long been suspected of enriching himself through involvement in the opium trade." [New York

Times, 7/8/02, Chicago Tribune, 7/8/02] FTW

July 10, 2002: The New York Times reports that in 2000 Mustafa Ahmed al-Hisawi deposited $100,000 in bank accounts of some 9/11 hijackers, including Atta. This is yet another name used by Saeed Sheikh, but the article fails to recognize this is the same man accused of killing Daniel Pearl and being an ISI agent. [New York Times, 7/10/02]

July 15, 2002: Saeed Sheikh and three codefendants are judged guilty for the murder of reporter Daniel Pearl. Saeed, the supposed "mastermind" of the murder, is sentenced to death by hanging, the others are given 25-year terms. Saeed threatens the judge with retribution. Meanwhile, at least seven more suspects remain at large. All have ties to the ISI, and as one investigator remarks, "It seems inconceivable that there isn't someone in the ISI who knows where they're hiding." [Time, 5/6/02] As if to confirm that his death covers up unpleasant truths, major media outlets fail to report Saeed's connections to 9/11 or even the ISI in the stories of his sentencing. [Washington Post, 7/15/02, CNN, 7/15/02, New York Times, 7/15/02, Wall Street Journal, 7/15/02] The Washington Post does admit the trial was a sham, that Pakistani police have secretly arrested two men who are the real "masterminds" of Pearl's murder, and that "official confirmation of these crucial arrests would have completely derailed the prosecution's case" against Saeed. [Washington Post, 7/15/02]

July 16-21, 2002: More questions emerge in British newspapers about the conviction of Saeed Sheikh in the days immediately after his murder verdict (see **July 15, 2002**). The Guardian reveals that the government has new suspects and new evidence that would contradict the Saeed verdict. Pakistani officials also admit that the key testimony of a taxi driver is doubtful. The "taxi driver" turns out to be a head constable policeman. [Guardian, 7/18/02] One of the codefendants turns out to be working for the Special Branch. [Independent, 7/21/02] The trial was held in a bunker underneath a prison, and no reporters were allowed to attend. When all the appeals are done, it is doubtful that Saeed will be extradited to the US,"because Mr. Sheikh might tell the Americans about the links between al-Qaeda and Pakistan's own intelligence organization." [Observer, 7/16/02]

July 25, 2002: The Israeli newspaper Ma'ariv leaks a classified Israeli intelligence report that has determined the 9/11 attacks were funded with opium money. The report also notes that the sheer scale of opium production

in Afghanistan is, in itself, a weapon against the West, but the US is not hindering the production. [World Tribune, 7/26/02]

August 11, 2002 (B): In the past, Afghanistan had mostly exported raw opium, but now many new refineries are converting the opium into heroin. The British government has spent £20 million to eradicate opium, but the program is marred by corruption and largely seen as a failure. The new heroin factories are said to be "working in broad daylight." There has been a rash of bombings and assassinations in Afghanistan as various factions fight over drug profits. The Observer was able to determine the precise location of some of these factories, but the US led forces in Afghanistan are doing nothing to stop them. [Observer, 8/11/02]